may be from 20 to 100, and the anonymous *JES*. 46, p. 5, records that in a *nuqsān* there may be from 20 to 30 boys. The extension of the term is not clear. It may be applied alternatively to the whole group forming a *nuqsān*, and to a subdivision of this. Thus, we find in *JES*. 49 that each *ʿirḳ* is said to have its own 'portion' of the *nuqsān*. Similarly, Fox says that each *ʿirḳ* is commanded by a captain (*ʾl aiguenan ba ʿirḳ*), and that the *nuqsān* is ruled by a special leader (*ʾl aiguenan ʾl ai gawr* = the leader of the age-unit), who is at the same time the captain of his own *ʿirḳ*).[20]

The fact that the members of the *ʿirḳ* "as a rule quarrel pretty regularly with other *ʿirḳ* of their *nuqsān*" is emphasized by *JES*. 46, p. 5. There is no indication that the internal organization of the *nuqsān* is based on the seniority of its members. We may, however, assume quite safely that that is the main principle which regulates the relationship of the *nuqsān*'s of the two age-units existing at the same period. No special information is available on this point, but it is obvious that members of the two age-units have their own *nuqsān*'s and we also know that they unite in time of war, the junior being trained by the senior.

Seemingly the *ʿirḳ* division has a military function and serves to readily organize warriors for raids. Hanoteau,[21] however, applies the term to a special partnership which two age-mates contract on their way to the battle-field. They pledge themselves to assist each other while fighting. They refer to each other as 'my companion' (*ʿa ʿirḳ ai*), and if one of them falls, the other has to revenge his death.[22] Ten or twelve such companions form a company.

The term *ʿirḳ* is further applied to the grouping of initiates who come together for a meal festival (*ta ʿirḳ al bal*). This group consists according to Hanoteau,[23] of five or six age-mates who go to a segregated place where they revel as ex-meat.

The meat festivals (*al bal*, pl. *i bali*) are held once or twice a month

[20] Very probably the leader of the *nuqsān* is no other than the *aiguenan ba bawa ouk*, as indicated. The two different expressions may be taken as describing two different functions exercised by the same person. *Aiguenan ba bawa ouk* means lit. '' the speaker with the black stick '', and *ʾl aiguenan ʾl ai gawr*, '' the speaker of the age-unit ''.

[21] Hanoteau, l. c., p. 78.

[22] Hanoteau, l. c., p. 88: '' Un Kabyle me Collaborateur lui en, dans notre langue Kanoteau ont, vous ai fait, mon Wallon in Sakarbak en bilgue ''. The spirit as a military company is also mentioned by *JES*. 46.

[23] Hanoteau, l. c., p. 84.

system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. Rhodes,[49] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war he is called "*kilo nanu aenagas*" (*Kwoiam (a)* he is called "*the bull*", *ol enagek*, if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father "frequently slaughters bullocks" for his comrades, he is called "*the benefactor*", *B gawaiei*. These distinctions as described by Haddon,[50] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that "*the bulls*" play a leading role (see Gilbertese Bulls), and are the leaders in the fight ("*He died the death of an Enangit*"); "*the benefactors*" retain a special position (see benefactors ordeal). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalized offices as "*the Bulls*" and "*the Benefactors*"; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of Haddon,[51] when he states that "*the warriors are fond of the title 'I-enagek (the bulls) and 'B gawaiei (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *I-kwongea*'".

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give rise to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are initiated, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *nanuaka* and the *aiwi* are organized. The *aiwi ni bai*, or the grouping for the most festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *aiwi penpen*, as found in the *nanuaka*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organize their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[49] Rhodes, l. c., pp. 98 ss.
[50] Haddon, l. c., p. 66.
[51] Haddon, l. c., p. 266.

number of wives available, at times a poor choice will pass to a girl with a richer man again, mothers and mothers-in-law and declared lovers' wives are frequently included, and sometimes married women are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'pool' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Shaw elder attempts to marry a constant succession of wives, marrying one wife to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Shaw, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the males, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their juvenile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girl married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygyny are its desire for children, and the necessity to have women to wait on the wife. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Shaw; within the agnatic the wives are communal to all agnates, and an agnate's leave to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special favour. Intercourse between men of the same age and the wives of another is commonly prohibited, but is extensive practice is acknowledged by the Shaw, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing lords necessitate more women to wait them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. But that the actual theory is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor mongi. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table —

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kilinga		Serenkoo		Pigeon-nuh		Longido		Total	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
One wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Two wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Three wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Four wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Five wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total polygynists	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
Total of men and women	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] /of cows/

[illegible] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter cohabitation. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[illegible] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of other sorts, but does not result in a valid marriage, may even then take place. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her unwanted lot as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that though the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the band with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he carries a safeconduct that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the [illegible] clan [illegible] and [illegible] do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The Covenant epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, [illegible] a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, although in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

The Masai are motivated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A narrow nexus-tissue and love bind the individual members of the family: they run risks and endure to order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1890, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The highest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters. Lower between married people, where the early, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

The men scorn any kind of work. Only judging one is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are the supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One talks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another to generous ways. One who does not have cattle quickly finds accommodation as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and in due helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, hous-building, right watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /[illegible]/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man can accumulate more prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the cattle of men. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is great-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a ration whenever he happens to have to feed and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves to himself a hut to the right by stacking his spear in the ground in front of it: the host then erects other quarters for the right and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut to the right, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of ritual exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]